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WHAT CONGRESS HAS DONE.

BY REPRESENTATIVES MCKINLEY, OF OHIO, LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA, FITCH, OF NEW YORK, MCADOO, OF NEW JERSEY, AND CLEMENTS, OF GEORGIA.

MR. MCKINLEY:

THE first session of the Fifty-first Congress has been, with a single exception, the longest one in our history. Although the first session of the Fiftieth Congress lasted until October 20, the session just closed, by reason of its longer daily sittings, has by far exceeded that in actual working-time, and the amount and character of the legislation accomplished are remarkable when contrasted with that of previous sessions.

It was preëminently a business session. Both branches of Congress were in the hands of the Republican party, and upon that party rested the responsibility for the legislation enacted.

The Republicans assumed control of the House of Representatives on the first Monday in December last with a scant majority, with most important public business pressing, and confronted by a minority determined to obstruct, as far as possible, the progress of business. The Speaker announced the appointment of the most important committees within ten days after the session opened, the entire list being completed shortly afterward, so that the House had really entered upon its labors before the Christmas holidays. This in itself is worthy of especial notice, for commit-

tees have seldom been announced heretofore until after the recess, and the House rarely, if ever, been in working order until some time in January.

Immediately after reassembling the first great question to engage attention was that of a quorum. The filibustering tactics of the opposition were obvious from the outset. Indeed, Roger Q. Mills, their leader, had already declared that no business whatever should be transacted during the session without their consent ; that they would control legislation in the House just as though they were in the majority. Under the rule as previously construed it was possible for the minority to hinder and delay work indefinitely unless every member of the majority happened to be in his seat, which with ordinary casualties was impossible. The minority's mode of procedure was to call for the yeas and nays upon a dilatory motion, sit silently in their seats, refusing to vote when their names were called, and then, upon the announcement of the vote, make the point of "no quorum." This, of course, blocked the wheels of Congress, and made the minority, as obstructionists, the masters of the situation. The present Speaker's construction of the rule was that a majority of all the members of the House constituted a quorum when present and in their seats, even though refusing to vote upon roll-call ; and he so ruled. This ruling has had the effect of placing the majority in possession of the House, instead of a filibustering minority, and has greatly facilitated legislation. Without it much of the work done would have remained unaccomplished, and the session, instead of being one of performance, would have been totally barren of results, except so far as they were approved by the minority.

There were introduced in the House during the session 12,402 bills and joint resolutions, and in the Senate 4,570, making a total of 16,972. This far exceeds any previous record in this respect, the nearest approach to it being in the first session of the last Congress, when 15,598 bills and joint resolutions were introduced. The House committees during the past session made 3,215 reports, and the Senate 1,817 (account being taken only of written reports in the Senate) ; 1,292 bills were passed by the House, of which the Senate passed 849 ; the Senate disposed of 1,100 bills, of which 486 were sent to the President for his approval, making a total number of about 1,335 acts or laws, against 1,790 for the whole of the last Congress. Of these acts, 606 House

and 275 Senate bills were for pensions to soldiers, their widows and children.

These figures are based upon reports made a few days before adjournment. The list of Senate bills passed by the House was considerably increased after this compilation, that body having acted upon them while waiting for the Senate to dispose of the Tariff Bill.

The people had intrusted to the Republican party the power of legislation upon a platform of pledges and a declaration of party purposes which good faith required should be strictly adhered to. And faithfully has the party fulfilled its promises to the people ;—not a purpose which has not been executed ; not a pledge which has not been kept.

One, and really the most important, plank in the platform upon which the party secured the ascendancy declared a purpose to revise the tariff laws of the country upon the lines of protection ; and in response to that open avowal Congress has passed a bill, and the same is now a law, embodying a complete revision of the tariff, but in full recognition of the principle to which the party is attached. This bill lowers duties where they were unnecessary, and it increases them when by so doing great industries can be built up and encouraged, thereby enlarging the field of employment by increasing the demand for labor. In the formation of the new bill it has been the endeavor throughout to so levy and adjust duties as to cover the difference in the labor-cost of this and competing countries.

The House passed an Election Bill, and it is now pending in the Senate, under which, when enacted into law, as it will be at the next session, every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, will enjoy the right to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted.

The Disability Act, the most generous piece of pension legislation ever passed by any nation on earth, was enacted into law during the last session as a fulfilment of the promise made by the party to care for the defenders of the Union. By its terms a vast number of disabled soldiers, widows, and orphan children are placed on the pension-roll ; and dependent parents, in order to be provided for, are only required to show by competent testimony that they are without means of support. It will carry comfort and cheer to thousands of homes throughout the land.

On the subject of the forfeiture of unearned public lands granted to railroads the House has at this session restored to the public domain over 8,000,000 acres of land, so that the same can be placed within reach of our citizens for homestead purposes.

Gigantic corporations, whose greed and cupidity have extended all over the country, fleecing the poor of millions of dollars, and with whose enormous wealth thus acquired the legislatures of States have been sought to be bribed—these, and all of them, have been stamped out of existence by the passage of the Anti-Lottery Bill.

The Customs Administrative Bill recently passed by Congress has for its chief purpose the prevention of undervaluations and the protection of honest importers against the unscrupulous. It is believed that it will result in taking out of the hands of dishonest men the business of importing, and place it in the hands of honest merchants. Its chief agency for accomplishing this is a Board of General Appraisers, who will have supervision over appraisements and classifications for duty of imported merchandise, in order to secure lawful and uniform appraisements and classifications at the several ports.

A National Bankruptcy Bill is included in the list of important measures adopted during the last session, the same being demanded by boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and commercial bodies generally.

Among the more important pieces of legislation accomplished is the Silver Bill, which provides for the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of treasury notes thereon. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces monthly, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price, not exceeding \$1 for 372.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for these purchases treasury notes of the United States in denominations not less than \$1 nor more than \$1,000, which notes are redeemable in silver. This law will utilize every ounce of the silver product of the country and more—utilize it for money and turn it into the channels of trade and avenues of business. As a result, silver is nearer parity with gold to-day than it has been for the last fifteen or eighteen years. The circulating medium is increased and made absolutely safe, with all the money of the country interchangeable with gold and silver and redeemable in either or both of these metals.

During the session provision was made for the admission of two new States, Idaho and Wyoming. In the case of Idaho the Territorial Constitutional Convention of July 4, 1889, was formally approved by ratifying the constitution then adopted. This enables Idaho to elect a governor and other State officers, to choose a legislature, which will elect two United States Senators, and to elect a Representative to the National House this fall. In the case of Wyoming the constitution of September 30, 1889, was ratified and confirmed. Oklahoma is made a territory.

This Congress has already passed an Anti-Trust Bill, designed to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies. Under its provisions every combination in the form of a trust, every ring organized for the purpose of controlling prices, or which places restrictions upon trade or commerce between the States or with foreign countries, is declared to be illegal, and penalties are imposed for a violation of its provisions. The circuit courts of the United States are invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of the terms of this act.

Among other notable measures enacted during the last session of Congress may be named the Original-Package Bill, giving to each State the right to control and regulate the liquor traffic within its borders; the Meat-Inspection Bill, which is to protect the meat of the country exported into other countries, and secure hereafter honorable treatment of the meat products of this country seeking a market abroad, and which, it is hoped and believed, will prevent discriminations that have been altogether too common; the provision for a World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America; the bill giving to the agricultural colleges of the several States an annual appropriation for the better education of the people of those States in agriculture and mechanics; and the provisions (in the Naval Appropriation Bill) to add to the new navy three line-of-battle ships, one protected cruiser, one torpedo cruiser, and one torpedo boat.

Nor has the House been unmindful of the rights of the Republican Representatives in the South who were deprived of their certificates of election, these being given to their Democratic opponents. The Republican House has given the seats to those who were fairly elected, and thus vindicated the majesty of the majority and the sovereignty of the Constitution, and put the seal of

its condemnation upon the practice, altogether too general, of tampering with popular elections and polluting the fountains of public authority.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

MR. LODGE:

THAT this Congress, in its first session, has done many things and has been remarkably effective in the way of legislation is obvious not only from the statute-book, but from the assaults that have been made upon the present House by the enemies of the party in control. There is an old proverb that no one throws stones at trees that bear no fruit, and the quantity of such missiles flung at the Republican Speaker and the Republican majority shows that the fruits of their labors have been very important, and not a little disquieting to their opponents. A mere list of laws enacted is dry reading, and yet the list of important public measures passed by the Fifty-first Congress in its first session will consume the space allotted to me here for a review of its work. As the members of the House are the only persons before the country for reëlection, I shall confine myself to the work done in that body.

We have passed a Silver Bill which, whatever its defects, leaves the currency which it enlarges on a safer basis than it was under the old law, and which maintains the two metals and the paper currency at an equal value in circulation.

We have passed a Pension Bill which is, like most great measures, a compromise between the extreme demands of certain sections of the country in regard to pension legislation and the equally extreme refusals of certain other sections of the country to do anything at all for the soldiers of the war. The bill is designed to care for all honorably-discharged soldiers suffering from any disability, whether incurred in line of duty or out, and it is estimated that it will cost in the neighborhood of \$40,000,000.

We have taken a step toward securing pure food staples by the passage of the Conger Lard Bill, which also protects the agricultural interests from a competition that is unfair, because it works under a false name, while through the Meat-Inspection Bill we have sought to prevent unjust discrimination against American animal food-products abroad.

We have passed a bill to prevent the formation of trusts or combinations intended to raise artificially the prices of commodities in general use.

We have passed a bill shutting out the Louisiana Lottery in all forms from the United States mails, thus destroying an evil which has of late years assumed monstrous proportions.

We have passed what is known as the Original-Package Bill, which restores to the States the power to deal with the sale of intoxicating liquors just as they please—a power which had been taken from them by the recent well-known decision of the Supreme Court.

We have increased the appropriations for the Civil-Service Commission, which is the most important measure possible to secure the extension and enforcement of the Civil-Service Law.

We have increased the appropriations for the fortifications of our coasts and harbors, thus beginning, at least, to remedy a neglect which had become a disgrace, as well as a peril, to the country. In the same line of national defence we have increased the naval appropriations, so that the work of building up the navy is not only continued, but the construction has been begun of ships powerful enough in speed, battery, and defensive armor to meet any in the world.

We have passed a Bankruptcy Bill which has been for many years demanded, and demanded in vain, by the business interests of the country.

We have passed a bill for the relief of the Supreme Court, which has been demanded for twelve years, and which will remove the reproach of delays of justice that now justly attaches to the trial of causes in the courts of the United States.

We have passed three important labor measures which have been demanded for some years past by the great labor organizations of the country.

We have also kept our pledge to revise the tariff and reduce the surplus. For the second time in seven years the Republican party has performed the great legislative feat of revising the tariff, and at the same time that it has adjusted duties it has reduced the surplus revenues between \$60,000,000 and \$70,000,-000, taking the bulk of the reduction from sugar, which enters into the consumption of every household as a chief necessary of life.

Lastly, we have kept the most important pledge made by the Republican party to the people by the passage of an Election Bill designed to protect every constitutional voter in his right to vote.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare this record with the legislation of the last twenty years will find that it exceeds in practical importance, and in meeting the demands of the country, not only anything that has been done by a single Congress, but the net result of all the Congresses which have come and gone during that period.

The most important work that we have accomplished, however, lies in the answer to the natural question, How is it that we have been able to do so much? The situation which confronted the Republican party when Congress assembled last December was, not what laws it should pass, but whether it should legislate at all. We determined that the majority should rule in the House of Representatives, because we believed that such was the plain intent of the Constitution and the most unquestioned doctrine of American institutions. Under the leadership of Mr. Reed, without whose courage, ability, and force of will the task would have been impossible, we succeeded. We destroyed a system where one man's voice could put a stop to legislation, and restored that in which the duly-elected representatives of the people could do the public business. This has been the greatest work of the Fifty-first Congress, and it is the work of the Republican majority and of the Republican Speaker. It makes an epoch in our legislative history which cannot be effaced, and marks a forward movement in the practice of free representative government which cannot be checked or put back either by misrepresentation or direct resistance.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

MR. DALZELL:

WHAT has the House done during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress?

It has done more in the way of practical and far-reaching legislation than any of its predecessors since the days of reconstruction. Its measures will be found to relate to the most vital interests of the people, both material and moral.

Its greatest work, and that which will make it forever con-

spicuous in the history of American Congresses, is the revolution it accomplished in parliamentary practice.

Boldly ignoring senseless precedents, in the interest of business methods it put common-sense above form, and vindicated its character as a body truly representative of a practical people.

In every House preceding this the "quorum to do business," which the Constitution defines as a "majority of the members," has been held to be a majority as disclosed by a yea-and-nay vote. Theoretically, therefore, members who did not respond to a roll-call were not present, and a minority, by silence, could block legislation. The absurdity of such a theory is now manifest. It involves the right of members to do by neglect, what they cannot do by performance, of duty. It means a government of the minority instead of a government of the majority. A member may be present to call "no quorum," but must be regarded as absent when a quorum is to be counted. This monumental absurdity the present House abolished by saying that actual presence and constructive absence were as much a parliamentary as a physical impossibility, and by establishing the rule that a member present within view of the Speaker and clerk is present for the purpose for which his constituents sent him to the House, *viz.*, to do business, and must be counted to make a quorum. Almost a hundred years ago, Hatsell, an English parliamentarian, said, in his book on "Precedents": "All the reason for forms is custom, and the law of forms is practice. Reason is quite out of doors." The present House has brought reason within doors. It may be conceded that the action was revolutionary, but it is no less admirable for that reason: it is by revolutions that the world advances.

The present House recognized the truth that no more important question can be presented to any popular representative body than that which relates to its own integrity. There were seventeen contestants for seats in the Fifty-first Congress, and eighteen seats contested. The eighteenth contestant had been murdered while prosecuting his contest. The House, after thorough investigation, declared the murdered man's seat vacant, and, in addition, decided, some in one way and some in another, all its other contested-election cases, with two exceptions. No other Congress has ever, within the same time, accomplished so much in the direction of making its actual membership conform to the popular will as expressed at the polls.

Having organized itself after business methods, the House proceeded to business legislation. Parliamentary practice having been adopted which enabled the majority to rule, the majority thereupon assumed the responsibility of ruling. What the House has done may be described in a sentence by saying it has put into the shape of law, so far as its power goes, the pledges of the Republican platform upon the faith of which the majority of the House was elected.

It has passed a law intended to secure pure elections. The prevalent abuses whereby the voter is intimidated and the ballot not counted or fraudulently counted, which are absolutely inconsistent with republican government, demand such law. The law passed is an extension of the supervisory system now in force. It is not, properly speaking, even a Federal Election Law, much less a "Force Bill," as it has been denominated. To so call it is a proof either of blind partisanship, stupidity, or ignorance. An impartial reading of its provisions will show it harmless to the honest. In common with all law, it is a terror only to evil-doers.

Having sought to make elections pure, the House addressed itself to the business interests of the people. For many years the banner cry of all parties has been tariff revision. Yet Congress after Congress has come and gone without results in this direction. The present House has passed the Administrative Bill in the interest of honest, as against unscrupulous, importers, and to secure, as far as may be, fair valuations upon imports. It has enacted the McKinley Tariff Bill, whereby the revenues will be reduced, American labor and manufactures fostered and protected, and the farmer made secure in the home market.

It has passed a wise Silver Bill, restoring silver to its monetary place, and making reasonably sure, under the operation of well-known laws, an equality in value between this metal and gold.

It has responded to the demands of the commercial interests of the country and passed the most perfect Bankruptcy Bill ever drafted, making provision for the equitable division of the insolvent estates of the living, as such provision already exists for the like estates of the dead.

It has passed an act to add to our Federal courts, to increase the number of our Federal judges, so as to avoid delays in litigation and bring justice within easy reach and to every man's door.

Passing from interests purely of a business character, the

House has taken care of the interests of labor. The law relating to the importation by contract of labor from abroad has been perfected and strengthened. The government has been prohibited by law from becoming the purchaser of the products of convict labor. Eight hours have been beneficially declared a day's work for government employees.

The House has written "false" upon the well-worn assertion that republics are ungrateful. The most liberal Pension Law that ever was passed by any people was passed at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. By it there will be distributed amongst the veterans whose services saved the Union, and the orphans, widows, and dependents of such, an annual sum greater than that which serves to keep on foot the splendid army of imperial Germany or that of France.

Looking westward to the thrift and enterprise, the wealth and prosperity, of the once pioneer, but now established, communities, the House welcomed two new States beneath the folds of the national flag and added two new stars to its field of blue.

These measures, covering parliamentary methods, pure elections, business interests, the welfare of the soldier and of labor, and the additions to our statehood, have been passed by the House, in addition to the regular appropriation bills and a multitude of other measures—many of great importance—too numerous even to catalogue.

JOHN DALZELL.

MR. FITCH:

THE session of Congress which has just closed has had two features which will make its history interesting hereafter. One of these is the appearance of a new leader in the Republican party, and the other is the adoption by that party of a new policy on the tariff.

The new leader is Thomas B. Reed. It is not possible to speak of the action of the lower house of Congress without discussing him, for the reason that the history of the House at this session is simply the record of the movements of his mind and will from December, 1889, to September, 1890. Whether his rulings and the new rules which he made for the House are jus-

tified by precedent or by necessity has been fully discussed in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and cannot at once be decided by any tribunal whose verdict will be generally accepted. But whether he is right or wrong, the situation is equally strange and interesting.

If he is right and is sustained in the future, parliamentary life and action have taken a new phase in this country. The Speaker of the House has become the second person of importance in our government. It is not altogether a question of whether the majority of the House shall govern. In this House the Speaker has governed the majority as well as the minority. It is well known that the Tariff Bill which carries the name of Mr. McKinley would have been altered in many of its schedules if Republicans who desired changes could have had recognition and the right to speak and vote free from the fear of the displeasure of a Speaker who could and would deal out in all legislation favors to the friendly and defeat to the rebellious. What may we fairly expect if at some time these new powers are found in the hands of some man as able and as unhesitating as he, but as fond, for instance, of money as he is of power and partisan advantage?

If he is wrong, the situation is even more startling. His is not the case of a party leader carrying out the wishes of his party. Instead of carrying out a policy, he has made one. He is independent of the Republican President, for whom he has no liking, if he has any respect. He is in open opposition to the Republican Secretary of State, so lately the unquestioned leader of his party. He has only open contempt and derision for the Republican Senate, which he says is made up of grandmothers, and which he sneers at as a "deliberative body." He brooks no interference from his fellow-Republicans in the House. He does not even allow them to defend his action when it is attacked. From his place in the chair he answers argument with argument, and uses as freely his favorite weapons of wit and satire against his opponents as when he stood on the floor, the leader of a minority. His party in the House is only used as an audience to witness the fight between Democrats and the Speaker, and is only expected to applaud at the proper moment. I am not one of those who question at all his honesty or his sincerity. These are the very qualities which make him dangerous. He is clearly in earnest all the time. His belief

in himself and in the correctness of all his views never is shaken. Lowell described him when he wrote :

"He couldn't see but just one side;
If his, 'twas God's, and that was plenty."

The most remarkable thing that Congress has done at this session is to submit on both sides to such a ruler.

The second striking feature of this session is the new tariff policy adopted by Mr. Reed and his party, and embodied in the McKinley Bill. I say the new policy because it appears to me to be plain that a large increase of protective duties, covering almost every line of business, and the granting of bounties in place of protection, were never announced as a part of the Republican doctrine. To say nothing of the many Republicans who believed, with Garfield, that the old tariff needed revision in the direction of lower duties, the general party creed, as expressed in its platforms and explained by its orators and newspapers, was the defence and maintenance of the old tariff against the attacks of the tariff reformers. It was on this question that the vote was taken by which the present Congress was elected in 1888. An examination of the speeches in the House on the Mills Bill shows this to be true. Such a change as has been made was never announced as even a probable result of a Republican victory.

What Republican orator on the stump foretold the intention of the party to raise the duties on almost every article of use or ornament in the house, of clothing for the family, or food for the table ? What Republican candidate for Congress announced that, if he were elected, he proposed to vote to allow certain manufacturers to arrange for themselves, in the room of the Committee on Ways and Means, the prices at which they would allow the consumers of this country to buy their goods ? What party organ announced that the Republican party, if it came into power, would disturb the finances and business of the whole country by a new tariff agitation, start by this means immense importations of dutiable goods and give them time to arrive and accumulate, and end by substituting "McKinley prices" for those to which the business world had for years adjusted itself ? As to the scheme of a bounty on sugar this is equally true. Mr. McKenna, of California, a Republican member of this House and of the Committee on Ways and Means, says in his report on the McKinley Bill :

"A bounty is as useless as it is burdensome, and as odious as it is useless. It is

not Republican. It has no justification in either the practice, the principles, or the professions of the Republican party."

The issues raised by the new leadership and the new policy of the Republican party will be welcomed by its opponents.

ASHBEL P. FITCH.

MR. McADOO:

LEAVING out the Tariff Bill, the first session of the Fifty-first Congress is notable as much for the important measures that failed of passage as for those which became laws. The following important bills failed to pass both, or, in some cases, either, branch of Congress : the bill to control Federal elections ; the amendment to the Alien Contract-Labor Law ; the bill forbidding convict labor directly or indirectly on government works ; the Copyright Bill ; the uniform Bankruptcy Law ; the bill relieving the Supreme Court by the creation of intermediary courts ; the bill to revive American shipping by subsidies ; the Compound-Lard Bill ; the Pure-Food Bill ; the Government Postal-Telegraph Bill ; the proposition to reduce postage ; bills to admit Arizona and New Mexico to statehood ; the Service Pension Bill ; the bill to transfer the revenue-marine service to the Navy Department ; the Blair Education Bill ; and the bill regarding the French spoliation claims.

From the stand-point of the opposition, the vital measures passed are considered, justly, I think, as dangerous and unjust, and are not based so much on fixed principles as intended to repay party obligations and continue party supremacy. Taken as a whole, they are unconcealed class legislation. They owe their passage in the popular branch of Congress to the dominant, and, indeed, regnant, personality and determination of the Speaker, Mr. Thomas B. Reed.

To understand them intelligently in their spirit and intent, it is necessary to briefly consider the force or forces in the House, where the great measures must originate. The Speaker, readily assuming responsibility for all legislation, did not hesitate to cast his party and personality into the contest for any measure that he desired to succeed, and thus, under the intense pressure of the one and the forceful and imperturbable presence of the other, to coerce the weak and wavering of his own party, and challenge within the same the fears and ambitions of those who might

otherwise be his rivals and opponents. Acquiring complete control of his own party in the House, cemented to him as partisans through the strenuous opposition begotten in the minority by his actions, he determined to redeem to the full the pledges given to the powerful interests, classes, and individuals who had joined in defeating the former administration. A key to the true meaning and intent of the vital measures of the session may be found in his favorite watchwords, "business" and "results," which in this light may be interpreted to mean that all roads are right ones that lead to party success, and that, in reaching the goal, there is no ground, however sacred, that may not be trespassed upon, and no obstacle, however venerable or just, that may not be demolished; not even excepting, as his critics insist, the Decalogue and the Constitution of the United States.

The change of rules, affecting all interests, may first be considered among the really important matters of the session. The amended rules aim to stifle discussion, give unusual powers to the Speaker, and transfer the control of legislation from the House to the committees. They are more restrictive of the rights of the individual member than the celebrated closure adopted some years ago, after many months of discussion, in the English House of Commons. These rules superimpose upon the powerfully restrictive "previous question" the right of the Speaker to declare a motion dilatory and to refuse to entertain the same, despite the protest of any number of members; confer on him the right to count as voting, so as to obtain a quorum, a member present and silent, even if incapacitated; do away with the public introduction of bills and resolutions, and leave their proper committal to the Speaker. Under this drastic code the Speaker called "business" as the referee at pugilistic encounters calls "time," and the contest began. Briefly, here are a few of its more important results.

Seventeen thousand bills were introduced in this Congress; most of these, as was so aptly said by the late Samuel J. Randall, reach out to the public treasury. Out of this mass there go to the statute-book two laws relating to the tariff—the Administrative Bill and the Tariff Bill proper. The Administrative Bill, by indirection, raises the duty on some articles at least 5 per cent., on the most conservative calculations; in some instances, it is contended, the advance is as high as 15 per cent. It does

away with trial by jury in contested customs cases, and leaves the decision to a newly-constituted Board of Appraisers. It frowns upon importations, and makes the importer akin to the smuggler. The Tariff Bill proper is the most ultra-protection law ever enacted in the history of nations, and, is in effect, a declaration of commercial war against the whole outside world. In my opinion, it will raise, in a marked degree, the cost of everything, except labor, and in the fierce, retaliatory, international war which it invites the American farmer will be the chief sufferer. Behind its towering prohibitory walls foreign products may scarcely come, but their alien makers are free to enter, and underbid the labor which the law pretends to protect. It is illogical, as well as unjust, when it does not extend the present Chinese-Exclusion Act to all mankind. By the results of this law the present Congress becomes either famous or infamous.

To make sure that this law shall not be repealed for some time to come, the Senate, the body most removed from popular elections, has had its membership increased by the creation of new States for purely partisan purposes. Idaho and Wyoming are admitted without sufficient population and with scarcely a pretence of fairness. Arizona and New Mexico are kept out, although possessing large populations, because they are not sure for the party in power. Idaho has 60,589 population, as against 153,076 in New Mexico. It can nullify the vote of New York in the Senate, and has about one-fifth the population of some Congress districts in that State and New Jersey. This, in the language of Mr. Speaker Reed, is "business."

The Silver Bill was passed to modify by a mild increase of money the effects of the new Tariff Law, but mainly as a party necessity to appease the silver-producing States for their support in the Senate and at the polls. The proposition to warehouse silver bullion begot the demand of the Farmers' Alliance for the paternalistic, government pawnshop, called by them the "sub-treasury plan." If silver bullion, why not corn and pork?

One of the most important measures passed was the so-called Land-Grant-Forfeiture Bill. This bill ends a shameful and pathetic chapter in our history. It forfeits, out of a possible 70,000,000 acres, 6,000,000 acres, a small portion of which is unoccupied and arable. It settles with the land grant railroads on

their own terms. The vast public domain, with its splendid possibilities, is fast disappearing, and the last acre of the people's land will soon be gone forever. The Senate, more subservient even than the House, refused to leave open the contest for those lands not earned in the time stated in the original grants.

The Pension Bill is simply intended to get and hold the soldier vote at public expense, and, if followed by similar legislation, must beget an income or other additional tax.

Among other measures are the Original-Package Bill, passed to please Republican Prohibitionists, which gives power that must belong either to Congress or the States, to be exercised by the possessor, from one to the other; meat-inspection bills intended to delude the farmer into believing that we can make Europe, incensed at our tariffs, buy his food-products; the compromise measure opening the arid lands to speculators and water companies who will take advantage of the government surveys to control the springs, thus furthering monopoly and land-robbery, and all hastening the scourge of Europe—the landlord; the most expensive and vicious of all river-and-harbor bills, which, in addition to the usual attempts to make navigable streams out of creeks that are roaring torrents in spring and scarcely damp places in summer, contains a provision to build the Hennepin Canal in Illinois at an expense of millions, part of which will be paid by citizens of New York, whose taxes constructed, now manage, repair, and make free the Erie Canal. A true "business" Congress would abolish the present system and appropriate a lump sum to be expended by a board properly constituted, of which the Secretary of War should be a member. There were also many bills for public buildings, necessary and unnecessary, and in nearly all cases unduly expensive; a "business" Congress looking for good "results" would also appropriate a lump sum in this matter.

On the whole, the expenditures are increased by about \$52,000,000, as compared with first session of the Fiftieth Congress. The total expenditures are estimated in round numbers at \$461,000,000, which will cause a deficit before the end of the fiscal year, unless the receipts exceed the estimates. This vast sum, however, does not tell the full truth. Many works, such as the new ships for the navy; indefinite and permanent appropriations, under a new and vicious system inaugurated in this Congress, intended to pay rebates allowed

in contested customs decisions and in contingent pension cases, and extended also by the House to the cost of operating the vast machinery of the Federal Elections Bill ; numerous public buildings ordered built, but not immediately provided for,—all these make it difficult to state the exact cost of the government for the present fiscal year. This avoidance of appropriations for public works ordered, so as to reduce the aggregate of the annual budget, before the Congress elections, will unprecedently swell the next batch of deficiency bills.

As to the merits of the bills that failed, as against those that passed, the reader must make his choice ; but the majority, I think, will agree in deplored the disgraceful defeat of the Copyright Law. One "vital measure" in the line of "business" was the turning out of nine Representatives duly declared elected, and the placing in their seats of contestants in affiliation with the majority ; and in the mean time the Force Bill, behind which is seen the gleam of government steel, and which revives the hates and horrors of reconstruction, awaits resurrection in the Senate next December.

When Mr. Reed first seized the official gavel, there were able and conservative leaders in his own party who thought they could go with revolution as far as they pleased, and then check it ; when Mr. Reed hit his splintered and long-suffering desk for the last time this session, history had repeated itself : the Republican party Jacobins had absorbed or driven from the field the temporizing Girondins.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

MR. CLEMENTS :

THE first session of the Fifty-first Congress was the longest but one, and the most extravagant in expenditures, ever convened. The appropriations which it made, including indefinite sums estimated at \$2,000,000, aggregate in round numbers \$465,500,000, being \$15,000,000 in excess of the estimated revenues, and more than \$70,000,000 in excess of the appropriations made during the preceding session. That this enormous increase of \$70,000,000 in the draft upon the people for public expenditures is extravagant and unwarrantable is conclusively shown by the citation of a few of the many items that go to make it up.

The sum of \$1,200,000 is appropriated for the establishment of a public park and pleasure-ground in the fashionable suburbs of Washington city. Nearly, if not more than, 1,300 new offices were specifically created, with salaries aggregating about \$1,500,000, and certain general appropriations, used wholly in the securing of personal services in the discretion of executive officers, were increased \$1,347,100. Among the former are three assistant secretaries at \$4,500 each, one each for the War, Navy, and Treasury departments. The first two cannot be justified in this time of profound peace and in connection with an army and navy that have not been increased in numerical strength in sixteen years. If there ever existed any necessity for the last, it was relieved by the passage of the act creating nine general appraisers of customs, with a salary of \$7,000 each, to whom was transferred the greater part of the principal labors theretofore incumbent upon the head of the Treasury Department and his two assistants. The large and extravagantly-paid force of officials connected with the Senate was also increased thirty-seven in number, presumably in part to maintain the increasing dignity of that body because of the advent of four Senators from the new States of Idaho and Wyoming, admitted by this Congress, with an aggregate combined population of less than 145,000.

The salaries of about 1,100 existing officers were increased in the aggregate more than \$132,000. Among others, the salary of the head of the Land Office is increased 25 per cent. over what had been acceptable to his distinguished predecessors. In the Patent Office thirty of the highest-salaried officials participate in the general raid upon the treasury. These increases have been made in the face of the facts elicited before the Committee on Appropriations, and presented to the House, showing that from 10 to 25 per cent. of the employees in the departmental service at Washington are below a fair standard of efficiency.

Pension legislation was enacted that will, according to conservative estimates, swell pension expenditures to probably \$150,000,000 and possibly \$200,000,000 per annum—a sum far greater than is annually expended by any of the great powers of Europe in maintaining their military and naval establishments and for paying pensions. Comparatively but a pittance of this enormous sum, raised by taxation upon all of the people and by a system purposely made burdensome upon the South, goes for

payment to or expenditure among the people of that section. Had it been the avowed intention of the Republican party to exact a war indemnity of the South, as did Germany of France, their object had already been more than accomplished. Yet the legislation had during the past session, which practically gives a service pension to the survivors of the Union army, in effect continues in increasing ratio the exaction of an indemnity from that section of our common country which was laid waste by the results of the war and despoiled by the carpet-bag governments of the Republican party for a decade after open hostilities had ceased. Such legislation, draining the resources of one section and giving in lavish bounty to the citizens of another section, for no disability or injury received in a service of their country which they claim to have rendered from high and patriotic considerations alone, will, so long as it continues, effectually prevent anything like universal or equal prosperity among the people of the country. Such a condition logically deters immigration to the South and the development of its natural resources by men who seek new fields for the use of their capital.

A nominal, but utterly impotent, Anti-Trust Law has been given to the people, while to the trusts and monopolies has been given a practical, effective system of enforcing their merciless exactions from the people on many of the prime necessities of living by prohibitory taxes on imports.

The Tariff Act passed at the late session is not only excessively high in its rates, but it is a masterpiece of iniquitous sectional discriminations. A striking example of this feature is its disposition of the duties on cotton-ties, used by the farmers of the South, and binding-twine, used mostly by the farmers of the Northwest. The duty on the former is raised from 35 per cent. to 125, while on the latter it is reduced from $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound to $\frac{1}{10}$ of one cent. The demands of the manufacturers of ties were overwhelming against the overburdened farmer of the South, but the appeals of the manufacturers of binding-twine were unavailing against the farmer of the Northwest.

The duty on cotton bagging has also been increased.

The limits of this paper will not allow an enumeration of the many other instances of like injustice abounding in this thoroughly bad law. Its sectional discriminations are only equalled by the provisions of the so-called Compound-Lard Bill, which

passed the House. Unmasked, this bill is solely designed to make the hog industry of the Northwest more profitable by destroying the cotton-seed-oil industry of the South. A more indefensible perversion of the taxing power could scarcely be proposed by the ingenuity and avarice of man.

For unseemly thrusts and controversies between the Chair and the members in their places, and between members on the floor, and the general exhibition of ill-nature, the session has been unprecedented. A conspicuous illustration of this was given by Republican members during the debate on the bill last named, when coarse vulgarity, vile epithets, and even physical blows were resorted to among themselves. To some of the new rules, the spirit and manner of their application and enforcement, this deplorable condition was largely due. These rules have vastly augmented the arbitrary power of the Speaker and given to the majority of the Committee on Rules, of which he is chairman, the control of the conduct of the business of the House. The representative power of the member has been correspondingly minified.

J. C. CLEMENTS.